IV.—HALF-AN-HOUR DEBATE *RE* VOTING BY SHOW OF HANDS IN ELECTIONS TO CLASS II PANCHAYATS.

MR. SPEAKER:—" Now, we shall take up the half-an-hour debate. I have allotted ten minutes to Sri K. Venkaiah, five minutes to Sri M. Hanumantha Rao, five minutes to Sri P. G. Karuthiruman and ten minutes to the Hon. Minister."

6 p.m. * SRI K. VENKAIAH:—" అధ్యక్షా! పంచాయతీ ఎన్నికలు బహిరంగంగా జరిపించాలని ప్రభుత్వం నిర్ణయించిన తరువాత ఈ సభలోనే అనేక పర్యాయాలు శాసన సభ్యులు ఈ సమస్యమీద ప్రశ్నలడగడం మంత్రిగారు జవాబులు చెప్పడం జరిగింది. అంతేకాకుండా శాసన సభ్యులు ప్రత్యేకంగా ప్రభుత్వానికి ఒక విన్నపం కూడా పంపి, దానివల్ల దుష్ఫలితాలు వస్తాయని, ప్రజలకు అక్రమం జరిగిందని స్పష్టం చేయడం జరిగిన తరువాతకూడా ప్రభుత్వం పట్టుపట్టి దానితో ఒక experiment చేసే పద్ధతిలో బహిరంగ యెన్నికల పద్ధతిని ప్రవేశపెట్టడం, పెట్టిన తరువాత దుష్ఫలితాలను చూచుటకు నిరాకరించి, అనేక రకాల దుష్ఫలితాలు వచ్చినప్పటికీ వాటిని ప్రభుత్వం చూచుటకు తిరస్కరించడం, దుష్ఫలితాలు ఏవీ జరగనట్లే అంటే సక్రమంగా జరిగినట్లు మంత్రివర్యులు వివరించడం జరుగుతూ వచ్చింది. ఎన్నికల సందర్భంలో, ఎన్నికలు జరగక ముందు, ఎన్నికలు జరిగే సమయంలో ఎన్నికలు జరిగిన తరువాతకూడా, చాలా అసందర్భాలు, అన్యాయాలు జరగడం, బీద ప్రజలమీద ఒత్తిడి కల్గడం మంత్రిగారికి తెలియదా? తెలిసినకూడా ఉపేక్షిస్తున్నారా? పల్నాడు తాలూకాలో కరాలపాడులో అభ్యర్థిగా నిలచిన వ్యక్తిని హత్యచేశారనే విషయం ఆయన పత్రికలలో చూచి ఉంటారు. తరువాత తూర్పు గోదావరి జిల్లా వానపల్లిలో ఎన్నికలు జరిగిన అనంతరం అక్కడ భూస్వాములు, పేదలు ఎవరైతే ఎన్నికలలో భూస్వాములకు ఓటు చేయలేదో వారిని హత్య చేయించుటకు పూనుకొని, తగాదాలు రెచ్చగొట్టి, ఈ విధంగా హత్యలు చేయించిన విషయం పత్రికలలో పడినది; మంత్రిగారు చూచి ఉంటారు. అదే విధంగా అనేక ప్రాంతాలలో, ముఖ్యంగా బందరు తాలూకా కలవగుంట ఇంకా కొన్ని చోట్ల తగాదాలు జరగడం, ప్రజలకు అన్యాయాలు జరగడం, బీద ప్రజానీకం బాధలకు గురికావడం జరిగింది. అదే కాకుండా ఎన్నికల అనంతరం, తమకు ఓట్లు ఇవ్వలేదనే కారణంచేత బీద ప్రజలమీద ఒత్తిడి తీసుకువచ్చి నానా విధాలా బాధలు పెట్టడం జరిగింది. జాగర్లమూడి, నాగులపాడులో మంగళ్లందరూ వారికి ఓటు యివ్వటానికి రామంటే, వారిని నానా ఇబ్బందులూ పెట్టడం జరిగింది. అదే విధంగా మామూలుగా కౌలుకు చేస్తూ ఉన్న రైతులను, ఆ రైతులు ఓట్లు ఇవ్వలేదని, కారంచేడులో పెద్ద భూస్వాములు తొలగించడం, దానిమీద కోర్టులకు లాగడం, అనేక ఇబ్బందులపాలు చేయడం జరుగుతోంది. ఈ విధంగా రాష్ట్రం మొత్తంలో అత్యధిక గ్రామాలలో ఈ విధమైన పరిస్థితులు ఉంటూంటే ప్రశాంతంగా ఎన్నికలు జరిగినవనీ, సక్రమంగా జరిగాయని మంత్రిగారు చెప్పడంలో అర్థం కనిపించడంలేదు. రెండవ వైపున అధికార్లు చేసిన అక్రమాలు బహిరంగ ఎన్నికలైనప్పుడే అధికార్లు ఆ ఎన్నికల సమయంలో అక్కడ నిలవబడి కాగితాలు లేవు, ఋజువులు లేవు, ఆయన ఏమి చెబితే అదే నిర్ణయమైంది. ఆ పంచాయతీని గ్రామం నిర్ణయించకుండా అధికార్లు నిర్ణయించే పరిస్థితులు కూడా ఏర్పడినాయి అనే విషయం మనకు తెలిసినటువంటిదే. ఈ ఎన్నికల సందర్భంలో నేను మా పెదనందిపాడులో యున్నాను. అక్కడ ప్రజలు ఒక వైపు ఓటుచేస్తే, అక్కడ ఉండే అధికారి ఇంకో వైపు నిర్ణయంచేసి ప్రజలమీద రుద్దడం, ఇది అన్యాయమని ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలియజేయడం జరిగింది. అనేక పరిస్థితులలో శాసన సభ్యులుగా ఉండేవారు అక్కడ హాజరయిన సందర్భాలు ఉన్నాయని అక్రమాలు

17th July 1953] [Sri K. Venkaiah]

జరిగి ఎన్నికల అధికార్లు చిత్తం వచ్చినట్లు ఓట్లు గమనించకుండా చిత్తం వచ్చిన పద్ధతిలో ఎన్నికలు నిర్ణయించడం, ఎన్నికైనవారు ఒకరైతే, ఇంకొకరు ఎన్నికైనట్లు డిక్లేరుచేయడం, ఇటువంటి దుర్మార్గాలు అనేకచోట్ల జరిగినవని ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికికూడా తీసుకురావడం జరిగింది. ముఖ్యమైనవారందరికీ ఇందులో బాధ్యత ఉంది. కాబట్టి ఈ విషయం చెప్పవలసిన అగత్యం ఉంది. అనేక గ్రామాలలో అధికార్లుగా ఉండేవారు ఈ దుష్టత్వాన్నికి పూనుకొన్నప్పుడు, ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి అనేక పర్యాయాలు తెచ్చినా కూడా, ఎట్టి చర్యా తీసికొనుటకు ప్రభుత్వం తిరస్కరించింది. సక్రమమైన పద్ధతులలో బహిరంగపద్ధతిననుసరించి ప్రజానీకానికి మేలుచేయుటకు, ప్రజాస్వామికం నెలకొల్పుటకు బదులు నిరంకుశమూ, నిర్బంధమైన పద్ధతులు అనుసరింపబడే పరిస్థితులే కన్పిస్తున్నాయి. ఉదయం ప్రశ్నల సందర్భంలో రాజగోపాలాచారిగారు, ఇక్కడ ప్రశ్నలు అడుగుతూ ఉన్నవారు నష్టపోవడం వల్ల ఈ రకమైన ప్రశ్నలు వేస్తున్నారని సెలవిచ్చారు. అది సక్రమమైనదికాదు. కమ్యూనిస్టుపార్టీ నిలబడింది. కొద్ది చోట్లలోలోనే ఇంతవరకూ పంచాయితీ ఎన్నికలలో ఎప్పుడు పాల్గొనలేదు. అల్లా ఐనప్పటికీ ప్రతి తాలూకాలో 20, 25 గ్రామాలలో కమ్యూనిస్టుపార్టీ విజయం సాధించినది. చాలా సులభంగా హేళనచేసే పద్ధతిలో పిచ్చిపట్టినట్లుంది ఓడిపోయాక అని చెప్పారు. ఆయన మిత్రులు ఎవరైతే కాంగ్రెసుపేరుతో పోటీచేసి అక్రమపద్ధతులలో గెలవాలనే పిచ్చిలో పడ్డారో, వారికి పిచ్చికాని మాకు కాదు. అనేక గ్రామాలలో సక్రమమైన పద్ధతిలో కృషిచేశాం. వాస్తవమైన విషయం, ఇప్పటికైనా ప్రభుత్వం గ్రహించాలి. ఈ బహిరంగ ఓటింగువల్ల గ్రామ ప్రజానీకానికి నష్టం కలుగ గలదు. గ్రామంలో బహిరంగంగా ఓటుచేస్తే, భూస్వాములు వారిని అనేకబాధలకు గురిచేసి, ఆ కక్షలవల్ల భూమిలో నుంచి, పనిలో నుంచి తొలగించడం జరుగుతోంది. ఈ రకమైన కార్యక్రమానికి పూనుకోవడం చాలా ఆశ్చర్యమైన విషయం. నేడు వున్న ఆర్థిక వ్యవస్థ పేద ప్రజలకు సహజంగా యిష్టంవచ్చిన ప్రకారము ఓటు వేసుకోడానికి అవకాశం లేకుండాచేస్తోంది అనే విషయం వాస్తవమైన విషయం. ఈ పరిస్థితులు ప్రభుత్వ దృష్టికి తెచ్చినప్పటికీ ప్రభుత్వం వాటిని గమనించకుండా మరల యథాప్రకారం బహిరంగ ఎన్నికల పద్ధతి తీసుకురావడం హానికలిగించినది. ఇవి ఈరోజు వుండే పరిస్థితులలో చాలా కొద్ది గ్రామాలలోనే ఈ రకమైన పరిస్థితి వచ్చిందని మంత్రిగారు సెలవిచ్చారు. కాని, ఇది వాస్తవంకాదు. మా నియోజకవర్గం తీసుకుంటే 100 కి 25 గ్రామాల్లో అన్నీ అక్రమపద్ధతులలోనే ఎన్నికలు జరగడం, దానిమీద కోర్టుకువెళ్లే కార్యక్రమం రావడం, అనేకమంది కోర్టులకు వెళ్లడం జరిగింది. అక్కడ అధికార్లు అక్రమానికి ఒడిగట్టి, సక్రమమైన పద్ధతులలో ఎన్నికలు జరుగకుండా లంచాలతో దోపిడి చేసేపద్ధతిని అవలంబించారు. ఇక్కడ కేసులు ఇంకోరూపంలోకి రావడం, అక్కడ కక్షలకు గురికావడం, ఈ గ్రామాలు కలుషితమై ప్రజాస్వామిక వాతావరణాకి అవకాశంలేకుండా పోయిందనేది వాస్తవమైన విషయం. ఈ విషయం గమనించకుండా, మరల ఈ పద్ధతి సక్రమంగా కనబడుతోందని చెప్పడం జరుగుతోంది. ఆంధ్రలో మేజరు పంచాయతీ ఎన్నికల సందర్భంలోకూడా, ఈ ఎలక్షన్ పద్ధతి తొలగించి సక్రమంగా రహస్య ఓటింగు పద్ధతి కాకుండా మరల పాతపద్ధతినే ప్రవేశపెట్టుతున్నాం. దీన్ని మేము పరీక్షించబోతూ ఉన్నాం అని మంత్రిగారు చెప్పడంలో అర్థంలేదు. ఈ పద్ధతి పూర్వమే పరీక్షింపబడింది తాలూకా బోర్డులు, జిల్లా బోర్డులు, ఎసెంబ్లీ ఎన్నికలలో ఈ పద్ధతి అనుసరించబడి సక్రమమైనది కాదని దేశంలో వచ్చిన ప్రజా ఉద్యమాలవల్ల ఈ పద్ధతి మారి రహస్య ఓటింగు కావాలని ఈ నిర్ణయంచేయడం జరిగింది. దీనిని దృష్టిలో పెట్టుకొని ప్రభుత్వం తన వైఖరిని మార్చుకుంటుందని ఆశిస్తున్నాం."

[17th July 1953

6-10 p.m. * SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" I am glad, Sir, that now at last this debate has been allowed. In spite of repeated requests, the Government have been deliberately evading a debate on this question of introducing elections by show of hands to second-class panchayats. The system of open voting now in force is claimed to be a great success. In my opinion and in view of people's experience, I consider this to be a total failure. Perhaps the Hon. Minister for Local Administration would come forward with the plea that in thousands of villages elections are held and that members and presidents are elected. The adult franchise is there now and people should be able to exercise their votes freely as they liked. That is the real test of democracy. That is the test of the success or failure of the policy that has been adopted by this Government. There are innumerable cases and in my own constituency there have been cases where simply because the Harijans or the agricultural labourers or the village social service people, that is, the washermen, the barbers and the like, chose to support one section or the other, they were oppressed. The people had to vote either way. Some people chose one party and the others chose another party. There are village factions and there have been feuds among the landlords themselves. In such cases, the poor people were harassed like anything. In my opinion, the present policy has brought *havoc* and evil consequences. Even after this debate was taken up here, Sir, friend after friend has been coming to me or sending chits asking me to report many complaints. Perhaps it is an indication of the popularity. Such complaints are coming from various places in Bandar taluk, Vijayavada taluk and so on. The Hon. Minister has denied that any murder has taken place due to this policy. From Koilkuntla taluk of Kurnool district from where the Hon. Minister himself comes, murders were reported in the press and they were not denied. I have no doubt that this policy has brought havoc to the people and to their way of living. Repeated representations have been made to the Hon. Minister for Local Administration. I myself represented certain cases to the Hon. Minister not twice but thrice. So also many hon. Members might have represented cases that took place in their own places. But all these things were not considered by this Government at all. On the other hand, at the fag end of the panchayat elections, this debate is allowed here for a short time. This is not proper. This is not the way of a democratic Government. If we really care for the sufferings of the people, this should not have been the attitude of the Government. Now after repeated representations have been made, the Hon. Minister has been pleading that it would be a very costly affair if the secret

system of voting is to be introduced and that people can exercise their free will by ' show of hands '. People have got experience in the recent general elections and they can easily identify the ballot boxes through the symbols found on them. Instead of doing likewise, people were thrown to the mercies of the village oppressors—the landlords and money-lenders. Thanks to the Congress rule, even after the August Swaraj, people are left where they were. Illiteracy continues to be there. I am sorry my time is over, Sir. Just one word more . . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—" No, I won't allow any more time. The hon. Member Sri P. G. Karuthiruman will now speak."

SRI P. G. KARUTHIRUMAN :—" கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, இப்பொழுது பஞ்சாயத்துக்களின் தேர்தல் பற்றி விவாதம் நடந்து கொண்டிருக்கிறது. இப்பொழுது அமுலில் இருக்கும் பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறையை எதிர்த்து எனக்கு முன் பேசின அங்கத்தினர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்."

SRI K. VENKAIAH :—" Point of order, Sir, ఇంతకుముందు మాట్లాడిన శ్రీ హనుమంత రావుగారికి రెండు నిముషములు ఎక్కువ టైము ఇచ్చారు. వారిని తిరిగి మాట్లాడమంటారా ?

MR. SPEAKER :—" மணி சரியாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. அது point of order இல்லை. நீங்கள் பேசுங்கள்."

* SRI P. G. KARUTHIRUMAN ;—" மக்களுடைய நன்மையை உத்தேசித்து, மக்களுடைய க்ஷேமத்தை உத்தேசித்து ஜனநாயக முறையிலே தற்பொழுது தேர்தல்கள் நடந்து, அத்தேர்தலில் மக்களின் நன்மதிப்பின் அடையாளமாக அவர்களின் வோட்டுக்களை அதிகம் பெற்றவர்கள் அதிகாரத்திற்கு வரக்கூடிய நிலைமை இருக்கிறது. இந்த முறையிலே இப்பொழுது பார்க்கப்போனால் தேர்தல் இல்லாமலேயே எந்தக் காரியமும் நாட்டில் செய்யமுடியாது என்ற அளவிற்கு நாம் எல்லோரும் தேர்தலுக்கு அடிமையாகிக்கொண்டு வருவதாகத்தான் காணப்படுகிறது. தேர்தலிலேயே மக்களுடைய வாழ்க்கை சென்று விடும்போல் இருக்கிறது. தேர்தலிலேயே சர்க்காரின் பணங்கள் எல்லாம் செலவாகி விடும்போல் இருக்கிறது. அரசியலில் சேர்ந்துகொண்டு நாம் உழைப்பது எல்லாம், மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற ஒரே கருத்தினாலேயே தவிர தேர்தலில் வெற்றி பெற வேண்டுமென்ற எண்ணத்தால் அல்ல. அரசியலில் ஈடுபடுவோர்களின் நோக்கமும் தேர்தலில் போட்டியிட்டு ஜயிக்க வேண்டுமென்று இருக்கக்கூடாது. மக்களுக்கு நன்மை செய்ய வேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத்தான் ஒரு சிலர் கட்சி சார்பில் நிறுத்தப்பட்டு சட்டசபைக்கு வருகிறார்கள். சட்டசபைத் தேர்தலைப் போலவே தற்பொழுது, நகராண்மைக் கழகத் தேர்தல், பஞ்சாயத்துத் தேர்தல், டிஸ்ட்ரிக்ட் போர்டு தேர்தல் என்று பலதேர்தல்கள் நடந்து கொண்டேயிருக்கின்றன. இந்த வருஷத்தில் மாத்திரம் நான்கைந்து வகைத் தேர்தல்கள் நடந்துவிட்டன. இந்த நிலையிலேயே போய்க்கொண்டிருந்தால் மக்களுக்கு நாம் எந்த முறையில் பணிசெய்யமுடியுமென்று எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை. அதற்காகத் தேர்தலே வேண்டாமென்று நான் சொல்லவில்லை. தேர்தல் நடக்கத்தான் வேண்டும். ஆனால் தேர்தலையே குறிக்கோளாக மக்கள் கொள்ளக்கூடாது என்றுதான் நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். ஏனென்றால் பொதுத்தேர்தலுக்கு சுமார் பல கோடி ரூபாய்கள் செலவாகிவிட்டது. அதேபோல பஞ்சாயத்துத் தேர்தலுக்கும் ஒரு கோடி ரூபாய்க்குமேல் செலவாகியிருக்கிறது. இப்படி பொதுமக்களுக்குச் சேவை செய்கிறோம், சேவை செய்கிறோம் என்று கோடிக்கணக்கான ரூபாய்களை விரயம் செய்வதை விட மக்களின் நன்மைக்காக அவர்களுடைய முன்னேற்றத்திற்காக அந்தப் பணத்தை செலவிட்டால் ரொம்பவும் நலமாக இருக்கும். அதை விட்டுவிட்டு 'தேர்தலை நடத்தவேண்டுமென்று சொல்வது, தேர்தலில் ரகசிய வோட்டு முறை இருந்தால், தாங்கள்

தோற்றுப்போய்விட்டால், உடனே அந்த ரகசிய வோட்டு முறை ரொம்பவும் தப்பாகும், பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை இருந்தால்தான் நல்லதாக இருக்கும், மக்கள் எங்களுக்கு பகிரங்கமாகவே வோட்டு போடத் தயாராக இருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்வது, பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை அமுலில் இருந்து அவர்கள் தோற்றுப்போய்விட்டால் உடனே ரகசிய வோட்டு முறைதான் வேண்டும், மக்கள் பயந்துகொண்டு தங்கள் முதலாளிகளுக்கு வோட்டுப்போடுகிறார்களே தவிர ரகசிய வோட்டு முறை இருந்தால்தான் நாங்கள் வெற்றிபெற முடியும், ரகசிய வோட்டு முறையே வேண்டும்' என்று சொல்வது எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்களின் வழக்கமாக இருக்கிறது. ஏன் இப்படிச் சொல்கிறேன் என்று கேட்கலாம். ரகசிய வோட்டு முறை இருந்தபோது பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை இருந்தால்தான் நல்லதென்று அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள். இன்றையதினம் பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை நடந்த காலத்தில் அவர்கள் அதிகமாகத் தோற்றுப்போய்விட்ட காரணத்தினால், உடனே பகிரங்க முறை தவறு, ரகசிய வோட்டு முறை தான் நல்லதென்று விவாதம் செய்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே அவர்களுடைய தோல்வி, வெற்றி இவைகளை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு அவர்களுக்குச் சாதகமான முறை வேண்டுமென்று வாதிக்கக்கூடிய அளவில் அவர்கள் இருக்கிறார்களே இது ரொம்பவும் தப்பாகும். நம்முடைய சௌகர்யத்திற்கு ஏற்றாற்போல ரகசிய வோட்டு முறைவேண்டும். பகிரங்க வோட்டுரிமையும் அவசியம்தான். பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறையினால் பல நன்மைகளும் இருக்கின்றன. மக்கள் சத்தியத்திற்கு கட்டுப்பட்டு, மனசாட்சிக்குக் கட்டுப்பட்டு, நியாயம் எது, அநியாயம் எது என்று ஆராய்ந்து நியாயமாக நடக்க வேண்டுமே என்ற ஐயப்பாடுடன் அவர்கள் மனச்சாட்சிப்படி வோட்டுப் போடுவார்கள். ஆகவே பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறையை ரொம்பவும் வெறுப்பது தவறாகும். அது ஒரு நல்ல முறை. அந்த காலத்திலேயே பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை அமுலில் இருந்திருக்கிறதென்பதற்கு கம்ப ராமாயணத்தின் மூலமாக உதாரணங்களைக் காட்டமுடியும்.

"ராமனுக்கு முடிசூட்ட வேண்டுமென்று விரும்பிய தசரத சக்கிரவர்த்தி மந்திராலோசனை சபையைக்கூட்டி பகிரங்கமாகக் கேட்கிறார். மந்திரிமார்களே, இராமனிடத்திலுள்ள அன்பினால் அவனுக்கு முடிசூட்ட வேண்டுமென்று நான் விரும்புகிறேன். என் கருத்து தக்கதோ, தகுதியற்றதோ எனக்குத் தெரியாது. நீங்களும் ராமனுக்குப் பட்டம் கட்டவேண்டுமென்று எதற்காகச் சொல்லுகிறீர்கள்? என் முகத்துக்காகச் சொல்லுகிறீர்களா? அல்லது உண்மையாகவே அவனுக்குப் பட்டங் கட்டவேண்டுமென்று சொன்னால் எதற்காக அப்படிச் சொன்னீர்கள் என்று சொல்லுங்கள், என்று கேட்கிறார். பகிரங்கமாகத்தான் அப்பொழுதும் தசரத சக்கிரவர்த்தி வோட்டு எடுத்திருக்கிறார். மந்திரிமார்களும், மக்களும், தங்கள் மனவிருப்பத்தை வெளிப்படையாகவே, சத்தியத்திற்குப் பயந்து, நியாயத்திற்குப் பயந்து—அரசனுக்குப் பயந்து அவர்கள் சொல்லவில்லை—தங்கள் மனதில் தோன்றியதை,

'ஊருணி நிறையவு முதவு மாடுயர்
பார் கெழு பயன்மரம் பழுத்த தாகவும்
கார்மழை பொழியவுங் கழனி வாய்நதி
வார்புனல் பெருகவு மறுக்கின் றார்கள் யார்'

என்பதாக, கிராமத்திற்கெல்லாம் குடிதண்ணீர் கொடுத்து உதவுகின்ற ஊருணி சுத்த நீரினால் நிரம்புவதாலும், நல்ல பெரிய பழ மரம் ஊரில் பழுத்தால் எவ்வளவோ பேர்கள் அதனால் பயன் அடையும்போது, அது பழுக்கவேண்டுமென்றும், உலகுக்கே நன்மை தருகின்ற கார் மழை பெய்யவும், விவசாயத்திற்கு மிகவும் உபயோகமாக நதிகளில் தண்ணீர் பெருகவும் வேண்டாமென்று யாராவது சொல்வார்களா? அதைப்போல (உலகுக்கே நன்மை செய்யவேண்டுமென்ற கருத்தோடே யேந்தியிருக்கின்ற) ஸ்ரீராமனுக்கு முடிசூட்ட வேண்டாமென்று யாராவது சொல்வார்களா? ஆகவே அதை மறுப்பார் யாருமில்லை, என்று வெகு அழகாகச் சொல்லுகிறார்கள்.

"ஆகவே அந்தக் காலத்திலேயே பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை அமுலில் இருந்திருக்கிறது. ஆகவே பகிரங்க வோட்டு முறை ஒன்றினால்தான்

17th July 1953] [Sri P. G. Karuthiruman]

தங்கள் தங்கள் மனச்சாட்சிப்படி, மனதிலுள்ள எண்ணத்தை நியாயப்படி எடுத்துச் சொல்ல சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்படுகிறது. ஆகவேதான் பகிரங்கத் தேர்தல்தான் வேண்டுமென்று கருதுகிறேன். எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் தாங்கள் தேர்தலிலே தோற்றுவிட்டோம் என்பதற்காக பகிரங்கத் தேர்தலை எதிர்ப்பது ரொம்பவும் தப்பாகும். ஆகவே பகிரங்கத் தேர்தலையே சர்க்கார் பெரும்பாலும் அமுல் நடத்தவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். சென்னை சட்டசபைக்குக்கூட பகிரங்கத் தேர்தல் வந்தால் ரொம்பவும் நன்ருக இருக்குமென்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு, ரகசிய வோட்டு முறையைக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டுமென்பதை எதிர்க்கிறேன்."

* THE HON. SRI N. SANKARA REDDI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am surprised that this question of open voting for second-class panchayats has again been brought up before this House. Some complaints were received at the time the conduct of elections to these panchayats was begun. Some complaints were printed and the printed copies seemed to have been distributed to some villages, and the same stereotyped complaints were received by the Government. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that all these complaints emanated from one and the same political party in our State. 6–20 p.m.

" Before I discuss the merits or demerits of open ballot for these small panchayats, I will say a few words about the secret ballot which is adopted in the elections to major panchayats and other bigger institutions. In this system, so many ballot boxes are kept, and an illiterate voter has to select the box in which to deposit his ballot paper after examining the symbol. In many polling stations, a number of ballot papers were kept aside either on the box or somewhere else in the polling booth. They were collected by the next voter and put into the box of the candidate of his choice. Besides, there is scope for carrying away and selling such ballot papers. Election in an Assembly constituency is different from an election in a panchayat ward. In a constituency covering a large area, the candidate does not know how the votes in places other than the place of his residence will be polled, and so the scope for his trying to corrupt voters by purchasing votes is very limited. But within the small area of a panchayat ward, the candidate knows how many voters are likely to vote for him. If he thinks that he is likely to lose by half a dozen or a dozen votes, he may purchase such number of votes and get elected. Whether such attempts will not be made by candidates has to be examined a little carefully. Allegations were made that in some polling booths wrong symbols were pasted on the ballot boxes and that they were replaced by correct symbols only in the course of or after the elections. I cannot say whether the allegations are true or not. I think the scope for such mistake and for corruption is eliminated in the open ballot system. The Government believe that secret ballot is not really suited for elections to second-class panchayats of small villages. Elections to first-class panchayats are conducted by secret ballot. Now we are trying to improve that system especially by eliminating the carrying away and sale of ballot papers and leaving ballot papers outside the ballot boxes in the polling booth. Open ballot is best suited for

second-class panchayats. Even under this system, it has taken more than seven months to complete the elections to nearly 8,000 second-class panchayats. Elections to a few more have yet to be conducted, and they will be completed soon. Sometimes elections have to be postponed on account of continuous heavy rain in areas like Malabar and on account of intense heat in places like Guntur and Vijayavada. If we adopt secret ballot to all these 8,000 and odd panchayats, I think it will take not less than two to three years to complete the election. For conducting election to each panchayat, it will take at least one month. Nomination papers have to be filed, after two or three days they have to be scrutinized, then the list of valid nominations has to be published, then there is appeal against the orders of the Returning Officer, and then some time has to be allowed for canvassing. A minimum of eleven or twelve days must be allotted for canvassing, and during the time the candidates and their agents will be going from house to house for canvassing votes. There will be no bandobust and a number of clashes may occur. This may perhaps result in greater confusion than what is reported to be happening now. In the open ballot system, nominations are filed only after the election officer goes to the village. People may canvass votes but candidates with no support will drop off. That is the reason why elections are going on very smoothly in very many panchayats. The hon. Member, Sri Venkaiah, said that the after-effect of the elections was that quarrels and riots were taking place in several places. But such things are going on irrespective of whether there are elections or not. In Koilkuntla, Jammalamadugu and Pulivendla, murders take place even in normal times. Sometimes elections come in as a convenient plea for the untoward incidents that occur. Unless people understand the spirit of democracy, unless each candidate develops the spirit of tolerating the voter even if he had not voted for him, the scope for misunderstandings and quarrels will be there whatever be the system that we adopt. Previously, this system was adopted for second-class panchayats. The new system proposed in the Village Panchayat Act is not adopted, but only the old system is retained as it is convenient and suitable. It is 13 or 14 years since elections were held to these panchayats. We wanted to complete the elections soon and make the panchayats work with new vigour. That is the reason why the Government adopted the open ballot system, which is simple, cheap and convenient.

" Some complaints were received by the Government, especially from Krishna district, that in some places the officers did not behave properly or misbehaved. In all these cases, election petitions are filed in the Munsif's Court. After the Munsif decides the cases, the Government will look into the matter and punish the officers who have really misbehaved."

Mr. Speaker :—" The time allotted for the half-hour debate is over. The House will now adjourn and meet again at 9-30 a.m. to-morrow."

The House then adjourned.